

League Draft Little Changed In New Text

Article 10, Binding Members to Uphold Territorial Integrity of Nations, Remains as Written

Monroe Clause Untouched

Alterations That Are Made Merely Add Explicitness to the Covenant

New York Tribune Special Cable Service (Copyright, 1919, New York Tribune Inc.) PARIS, June 21.—The revised draft of the covenant of the league of nations shows few changes in the text. Articles 10 and 21, at which most of the criticism has been directed, remain unchanged. They still read:

Article 10.—The members of the league undertake to respect and observe as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Article 21.—Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

"Members" Instead of "States" in Article 8, referring to the reduction of armament, the second paragraph now reads:

The council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each member of the league (original text read "each state") shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several governments.

The last paragraph of Article 8 now reads:

The members of the league undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their naval, military and air (original text read "naval and military") programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to the warlike purposes.

Article 9 now reads: A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air (original text read "military and naval") questions generally.

Article 15 is more explicit. It has been altered in the first sentence to read thus:

If there should arise between members of the league any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above (the words "as above" did not appear in the original draft) in accordance with Article 13, the members of the league agree that they will submit the matter to the council.

The first paragraph of Article 16 has been altered to read:

Should any member of the league resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the league, which hereby undertakes immediate mediation to subject it to the severance of all trade and financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking member of the league (original text read "covenant-breaking state") and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking member of the league (original text read "covenant-breaking state") and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the league or not.

Further along in Article 16, the phrase "covenant-breaking state" is again altered to read "covenant-breaking member of the league."

Minor Will Be Tried By Military Court

Commission Will Hear Charges Against American Writer in Jail at Coblenz

COBLENZ, June 20 (By The Associated Press).—Major General Charles P. Summerall, Brigadier General Francis P. Marshall, Fred W. Sladen, Frank E. Bamford and Wendell C. Neville and Colonel Frank H. Adams and Raymond A. Wheeler have been appointed members of a special military commission to try Robert Minor, the American newspaper correspondent and cartoonist, who is under arrest here.

Minor has been notified he may select a civil attorney to defend him if he desires.

The charges against Minor are still in the course of preparation, and will probably be filed early next week. His arrest, which occurred in Paris, was reported at the time to have been in connection with the circulation of radical propaganda in areas occupied by Allied troops.

The commission will meet at the call of General Summerall, who is expected to return to Coblenz early next week.

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Root Maps Plan to Curb League Evils

Continued from page 1

drafting of his resolution with a view to modifying it so as to bring in some of the so-called doubtful Senators, especially Senators Spencer, of Missouri, Norris, of Nebraska, and others who favor the general idea of a league, but do not like many things about the one proposed.

It is now expected, however, that the Republicans as a whole will abandon the effort to put through the Knox resolution, and will content themselves with a fight to adopt satisfactory reservations to protect the interest of the United States when the peace treaty is ratified.

Root Letter to Lodge

Following is Mr. Root's letter to Senator Lodge:

"The Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, Washington, D. C.

"My Dear Senator: You were good enough to ask that after study of the proposed amendments already made to the league of nations part of it I should write you my opinion as to the amendments and as to the action which would be wise, in view of existing international conditions.

"I should be glad to see the peace terms and the league of nations sent apart separated as proposed in the resolution offered by Senator Knox, so that the latter could be considered by the people of the country without coercion from the necessities of speedy peace.

"To avoid repetition, I inclose a copy of a letter which I wrote to Mr. Will H. Hays March 29, 1919, proposing amendments to the league of nations covenant and giving the reasons for them. Amendments similar in substance were proposed at about the same time by many American families with public affairs, both in and out of the Senate. The amendments subsequently made in the covenant by the Paris Conference, while to some extent dealing with the subjects of the amendments so proposed, are very inadequate and unsatisfactory.

Judicial Phase Declared Weak

"Nothing has been done to provide for the reestablishment and strengthening of a system of arbitration or judicial decision upon questions of legal right. Nothing has been done toward providing for the revision or development of international law. In these respects principles maintained by the United States without variation for half a century are still ignored, and we are left with a programme upon which rests the hope of the world in future peace in a government of men and not of laws, following the dictates of expediency and not of right. Nothing has been done to limit the vast and incalculable obligation which Article X of the covenant undertakes to impose upon each member of the league to preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of all members of the league all over the world.

"The clause authorizing withdrawal from the league upon two years' notice leaves a doubt whether a mere charge that we had not performed some international obligation would not put it in the power of the council to take jurisdiction of the charge as a disputed question and keep us in the league indefinitely against our will.

"The clause which has been inserted regarding the Monroe Doctrine is erroneous in its description of the doctrine and ambiguous in meaning. Other purely American questions, as, for example, questions relating to immigration, are protected only by a clause apparently empowering the council to determine whether such questions are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States. I do not think that in these respects the United States is sufficiently protected against most injurious results which are wholly unnecessary for the establishment and maintenance of this league of nations.

Features of Pact Approved

"On the other hand, it still remains that there is in the covenant a great deal of very high value which the world ought not to lose. The arrangement to make conferences of the powers automatic when there is danger of war; provisions for joint action, as, of course, by representatives of the nations concerned in matters affecting common interests; the agreement for delay in case of serious disputes, with opportunity to bring the public opinion of the world to bear on the dispute; the recognition of racial and popular rights to the freedom of local self-government; the plan, indispensable in some form, for setting up governments in the vast regions deprived of the rule of the automatic rule which had maintained order—all these ought to be preserved, if that can possibly be avoided. The condition of Europe requires prompt action. Industry has not revived there. Its revival requires raw materials. To obtain these raw materials, and for this there must be peace. Satan is finding evil work for idle hands to do in Europe. Evil work that affects the whole world, including the United States.

"Under these circumstances, what ought to be done?

"I am clear that if the covenant is to be considered with the peace terms included, the Senate ought to include in its resolution of consent to the ratification an expression of such reservations and understandings as will cure so far as possible the defects which I have pointed out. You will probably be unable to do anything now about the system of arbitration and the development of international law. You can, however, put into the resolution of consent a reservation refusing to agree to article X, and I think you should do so; you can clarify the meaning of the withdrawal article and you can also include in your resolution the substance of the third amendment, which I proposed in my letter to Mr. Hays of March 29, relating to purely American questions, and I think you should do so.

Reservations Summarized

"These clauses of the resolution shape themselves in my own mind as follows:

"The Senate of the United States advises and consents to the ratification of the said treaty with the following reservations and understandings to be made a part of the instrument of ratification, viz:

"1. In advising and consenting to the ratification of the said treaty the Senate reserves and excludes from its consent the tenth article of the covenant for the league of nations, as to which the Senate refuses its consent.

"2. The Senate consents to the ratification of the said treaty, reserving Article X aforesaid, with the understanding that whenever two years' notice of withdrawal from the

league of nations shall have been given, as provided in Article I, no claim, charge or finding that international obligation or obligations under the covenant have not been fulfilled will be deemed to render the two years' notice ineffectual or to keep the power giving the notice in the league after the expiration of the time specified in the notice.

"3. Inasmuch as in agreeing to become a member of the league of nations the United States of America is moved by no interest or wish to intrude upon or interfere with the political policy or international administration of any foreign state, and by no existing or anticipated dangers in the affairs of the American continents, but accedes to the wish of the European states that it shall join its power to theirs for the preservation of said treaty, excepting Article X, aforesaid, with the understanding that nothing contained therein shall be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions, to require the submission of its policy regarding questions which it deems to be purely American questions to the decision or recommendation of other powers.

Precedent Long Established

"This reservation and these expressions of understanding are in accordance with long-established precedent in the making of treaties. When included in the instrument of ratification they will not require such provisions of the covenant as the other signatories expressly object to the ratification with such limitations he treaty stands as limited as between the United States and the other powers represented in the council to state whether they do in fact object to the entrance of the United States into the league with the understandings and reservations stated in the resolution.

"If any doubt were entertained as to the effect of such action, the doubt could be readily dispelled by citing upon the four other principal powers represented in the council to state whether they do in fact object to the entrance of the United States into the league with the understandings and reservations stated in the resolution.

"As to these limiting clauses, I wish to say something further. As to Article X:

"First: It is not an essential or even an appropriate part of the provisions for a league of nations to preserve peace. It is an independent and indefinite alliance which may be made by the parties to it in any form and for any purpose, and in respect complied with the provisions of the league of peace. It was not included in General Smuts' plan, the provisions of which have been reproduced almost textually in the league covenant. It stands upon its own footing as an independent alliance for the preservation of the status quo.

"Second: If we agree to this article, it is extremely probable that we shall be unable to keep our agreement. Making war nowadays depends upon the genuine sympathy of the people of the country at the time when the war has to be carried on. The people of the United States will not be willing ten or twenty years hence to send their young men to distant parts of the world to fight for causes in which they may not believe or in which they have little or no interest. If that is the attitude of the people when we are hereafter called upon to wage war under Article X, no general indefinite agreement made at this time will make them disposed to fight. And we shall be in about the worst possible position, of having made an agreement and not keeping it.

"Our people ought not to be forced into such a position, and we ought not to make any agreement that is liable to force them into such a position. The recent controversies over the disposition of Kiau-chau and of Peking illustrates very well the way in which territorial arrangements are likely to be made in the hands of the great powers controlled by expediency. I would not vote to bind our country to go into a war in years to come in defence of those arrangements.

"If it is necessary for the security of Western Europe that we should agree to go to the support, say, of France if attacked, let us agree to do that particular thing plainly, in that every man and woman in the country will understand the honorable obligation we are assuming. I am in favor of that. But let us not wrap up such a purpose in a vague universal obligation, under the impression that it really does not mean anything likely to happen.

"Third: It is reported that Switzerland is much disturbed over the invitation to join the league of nations, and wishes to preserve her neutrality, because her people are partly French, partly German and partly Italian, and she wishes to keep out those nationalities. In this country of all quarrels which may involve the census of 1910 showed that 35 per cent (more than one-third) of our people were of foreign birth or the children of foreign parents. We can call upon these people to stand by America in all American quarrels, but how can we control their sympathies and their action if America interferes in foreign quarrels and takes sides in those quarrels against the countries to which they are attached by tradition and sentiment? How can we prevent dissension and hatred among our own inhabitants of foreign origin when this country interferes on foreign grounds between the races from which they spring? How can we prevent bitterness and disloyalty toward our own government on the part of those against whose friends in their old homes we have intervened for no cause of our own?

"Article X confronts us with consequences very similar to those which Washington had in mind when he advised us to keep out of the quarrels of Europe and to keep the quarrels of Europe out of America. It is by following this wise policy that the United States has attained a position of unity and disinterestedness which enables her to promote peace mightily because she is not a party to the quarrels that threaten to disturb the peace of the world.

She is free from suspicion; she is not the object of hatred or distrust; her friendship is valued, and her word is potent. We can be infinitely more valuable to the peace of the world by keeping out of all the petty and selfish quarrels that arise, than we can by binding ourselves to take part in them. Just so far as it is necessary to modify this settled historic American policy in order to put into effect a practical plan for a league of nations to preserve peace we ought to go, and we ought not to go one step further. The step proposed by Article X is not necessary for such a plan, and we ought not to take it.

"As to the state of understanding about American questions contained in the foreign press, I think it is clear that the most ardent advocates for accepting the league covenant exactly as it stands insist that the provisions already inserted about the Monroe Doctrine and other purely American questions mean just what this proposed resolution says. If that be true, then nobody can object to the resolution which puts the meaning beyond question. It is important not only for the interest of America but for the peace of the world that such provisions should be free from doubt and occasion for dispute. If, on the other hand, their view is wrong, and the provisions already inserted may be construed not to mean what the resolution says, then the resolution certainly ought to be included in the consent to the ratification.

Isolation of United States Emphasized

"There is one other thing to be mentioned; that is the recital of the proposed resolution (number 3), disclaiming any intention by the United States to intrude upon or interfere with the political policy or international administration of any foreign state. I think that to be of real importance because I perceive evidences of an impression in Europe that the part taken by the representatives of the United States at Paris in the local questions and controversies of Europe indicates an abandonment by the United States of her traditional policy and a wish on her part to intrude upon European states and control European affairs, thus assuming responsibility for those affairs.

"That impression should be dissipated. It is not well founded. I am sure that the people of the United States have no such intention or wish. Such interposition in the affairs of Europe as our representatives have been engaged in was properly but a temporary interposition to the fact that we had engaged in the war, and had, therefore, to discuss the terms of peace; and we should make it clear that we neither assume responsibility for nor interfere in the affairs of Europe beyond that necessary participation under the organization of the league of peace which we enter upon by the request of the European nations themselves.

Strengthening Treaty Suggested

"To return to the subject of arbitration and the development of international law, I certainly should not advise regarding the league covenant in its present form as the final word upon an organization for the preservation of the peace of the world. I think that when the Senate consents to the ratification of the treaty with some such reservations as I have indicated, it ought also to adopt a separate resolution not a part of the action upon the treaty, but practically at the same time, formally requesting the President without any unavoidable delay to open negotiations with the other Powers for the re-establishment and strengthening of a system of arbitration for the disposition of international disputes upon questions of right, and for periodic meetings of representatives of all the Powers for the revision and development of international law.

"I think that hereafter, when the life of Europe has become settled, when credit and industry are re-established there and governments are stable and secure, and we know what reduction of armaments the powers are willing to consent to, the United States should insist upon a revision of the league covenant. I am sure that the changed circumstances will then permit material improvement.

"Faithfully yours,

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Alcock and Brown to Split \$40,000 of Prize Equally

LONDON, June 21.—Captain John Alcock, the pilot of the Vickers-Vimy airplane which made the first non-stop flight from North America to Ireland, announced to-day that he and Lieutenant A. W. Brown, the navigator, intended to divide equally \$40,000 of the \$50,000 prize given them by "The Daily Mail."

The other \$10,000 will go to the workmen who built the machine.

Germans Permitted to Fire Cannon on Festival Day

COBLENZ, June 19 (By The Associated Press).—German cannon boomed in Coblenz to-day in connection with the religious celebration of Corpus Christi day, permission having been granted by the Americans to fire a certain number of shots, according to ancient custom, during the bestowal of the sacramental benediction as the procession passed through the streets.

Utrecht, but nothing definite has been decided.

Dr. Kriege, of the German Foreign Office, who is charged with realization of the former monarch's private property, is understood to have brought a report that the German government intends to deduct a considerable sum as taxation for unearned increment. The amount is variously reported at from one to twenty million marks.

Observers here are of the opinion that some movement is afoot, as the services around the castle have been changed since yesterday. The military police, under orders of the War Office, have been removed, but armed country police, under the Ministry of Justice, remain on guard.

The lanes around two sides of the castle which hitherto have been open to villagers only, have been closed to everybody, but the other sides of the castle still are open, although constantly patrolled by police in order to prevent people from loitering about.

The village telegraph office, which hitherto has been open for government purposes until 11 o'clock at night, hereafter will be closed at 7:30, while the staff has been reduced.

Martial Law in Munster Ordered by Germans

COBLENZ, June 21 (By The Associated Press).—A state of siege has been declared in the district of Munster, in Westphalia, northeast of Cologne, because of Spartacist disturbances, according to information reaching American headquarters here.

General von Watter, commanding the German 7th Corps, with headquarters at Munster, has appointed General von Brauschich military commander of the Munster district.

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Ex-Kaiser Plans Buying New Home

Secluded Spot in Holland Reported Chosen; May Pay Huge Income Tax

AMERONGEN, June 20 (By The Associated Press).—Reliable circles declare that the presence in Amerongen of visitors from Germany is connected with plans for the future residence of the former emperor. Discussions are said to be in progress for the purchase of a property in Holland, lying in a secluded spot within twenty miles of

Utrecht, but nothing definite has been decided.

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